/757 cont./

881 them to eat. Then all the participants disperse and tell every-
574 one: "That girl gave us good things to eat, fish, mussels, and other things!" They are referring to the tú·ikipa tatu, and everyone who hears about it interprets the words in this way. Now everyone knows that the girl has reached physical maturity.

β. Women during the Menses

841 An account of how a woman conducts herself during her monthly bleeding, sápana, is inserted here. The tú·ikipa has already been told that "this occurrence will be repeated with each moon." It scarcely causes a woman /758/ any noticeable discomfort. Just as during the first menstruation, every woman blots up the blood with a small bunch of čílĕr and burns it inconspicuously in the hut fire.

Abstention from certain foods is not exactly demanded, but the woman is supposed to choose better pieces for herself, "for only these are good for her!" She must practice composure and withdrawal, be silent and yet very active. All this is not as strictly demanded of her as of a tú·ikipa, but a woman cannot take it too lightly, because this would have a bad effect on her children. Everyone knows exactly what is demanded by tribal custom, hence the individual more or less conscientiously and faithfully fulfills this obligation (194).

194. Hahn's (a):804 opinion is not very accurate: "Subsequent menstrual periods do not give rise to any particular practices and do not prevent sexual relations" /translated from French/.

γ. Interpretation of Menstruation

The fact that Lola's menstruation began during my second sojourn in Beagle Channel (p. 568) made it not only possible for me to get most of the above details, but also put me on the trail of the mythological interpretation of the menses as the Yamana tell it.

/758 cont./

841 On that particular day old Alfredo had been given a nip of wine by a European and was in excellent spirits. I accompanied him to a small garden near Punta Remolino, the property of the Lawrence family, where he was supposed to hoe the turnip beds. In an unmistakably personal tone he asked me: "Do you know why Lola is acting so gravely and does not look about her at all?" I told him that I had not noticed it. Satisfied to hear this, he assured me: "It is all because she is now tūɣi!" I immediately asked him to explain this further to me. "I'll tell you everything tonight!" he assured me.

When night had long since fallen, there were many people crouching around the fire in Alfredo's hut. He remembered his promise and gave me a sign that he now wanted to fulfill it. Gruffly he sent the children away and was loudly emphatic that it was time they went to bed. With a somewhat milder remark he indicated to the women that he would like them to leave him alone with the men. When the men were by themselves, he told the familiar story of how the first menstruation was introduced by the elder Yoálox.

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The entire myth will be given below. Here it will suffice to indicate that since the introduction of this bleeding Yoálox has been regarded as the husband of every woman and as causing the flow of blood through a sexual act. Because he always unites anew with each woman, it is necessary for her to get up soon after bleeding begins to free herself each time from Yoálox. /759/ How consistently the Yamana regard the relationship of every woman to Yoálax as a conjugal one may be seen from the fact that they say his elder sister, Yoálax tarnuxipa, is the sister-in-law of all women.

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The girl does not learn about this myth in connection with her menarche. It is saved until the youth initiation, so that the child will not prematurely become familiar with delicate matters. It is not until the čiéxaus that the candidates are told everything that tradition recounts about Yoálox. As a rule the overseer of the initiation does this, but the female candidate almost always learns the story of the very first menstruation from the woman who sponsors her. Nelly added the following to these details: "When I was first permitted to attend the čiéxaus, we candidates had to

/759 cont./

841 get up one by one at midnight. The old instructor led us out of
773 the Great Hut, pointed to certain stars, and mentioned their
881 names. He also showed us the Yoálox family, saying: 'The elder Yoálox is the husband of every girl who has become tú·ɔi; he causes the bleeding after every moon [-cycle]!' He also impressed upon us: 'Keep all this to yourselves, for this is a secret for girls and they should not speak about it with boys!'"

841 The women actually do avoid speaking about their monthly bleeding, wélix. It finally becomes so taken for granted that they probably seldom think of Yoálox in connection with it. I did not find out whether they specify a particular reason for the cessation of the menses in the change of life; they are indifferent toward it.

4. Children's Play

857 The happy disposition of our Fuegians is shown in entertaining games. Whenever there are many people gathered together and the weather is favorable, they greatly enjoy playing together for hours. Children soon show a great love of play, and when several get together, they, too, immediately begin to entertain themselves in their modest way.

Both boys and girls amuse themselves, each in their own way, and the demands on the sexes are already in force here. In play no less than in other things the separation of the sexes is supposed to be observed; this is gladly overlooked, however, when so-called social games are played, in which adults, too, often take part. There are no special playthings for older children; instead, for their childish entertainment they very often imitate grownups at work. Although the social games mentioned above are not confined to children alone, they are the ones who most frequently play them; hence we shall describe them here.

152 Despite the unrestricted merriment and wholesome liveliness that all children show in their play, this flock of little ones is relatively silent and quiet. True, they are not /760/ mute, but there is no wild noise and ceaseless yelling, and no one would dare shout at the top of his lungs or cry just to show off. This behavior fits very well with the quiet and hushed manner of babies (p. 520) and adults.

/1169 cont./

773 with their sister, rose up to heaven where one can see them to this day as stars.

K. The Onset of the First Menstruation

773 ● 841 Without delay (89) little Hulušénuwa first sent his wife

89. For clearer organization, I have made a special story of this on my own initiative. My informants told the whole story without this break.

Tákašakīpa (90) to the Yoálox. She entered the hut of the two

90. This is the loud seagull, Larus belcheri.

Yoálox and introduced herself. The two brothers looked closely at this woman for a long time. Then they said to their sister: "Give this woman lots of meat!" Yoálox-tárnuxīpa gave Tákašakīpa much meat and she was dismissed. The two brothers had arranged with their sister that they would look over every woman carefully to see whether she was beautiful and whether they liked her. Every woman that did not please them was to be given much meat by their sister and dismissed.

After a while Lášixkīpa arrived. The two Yoálox looked at her, but she did not please them. Yoálox-tárnuxīpa gave her much /1170/ meat and she was dismissed. Then little Hulušénuwa sent all the rest of his wives, one after the other: šékuš, kímoa, lúrux, wāsénim, lēkakuta, wípatux, malépa, šánes, wémar-kīpa, kiwágu, dētēhúrux, čokóa (91), and many others, for he had

91. Only a few names are mentioned here in abbreviated form, without the "kipa" designating gender and without the more specific zoological designation, thus avoiding superfluous repetition.

many wives. No matter how beautiful they all were, one as

/1170 cont./

773 841 much as the other, the two Yoā́lox did not care particularly for any of them. Their sister gave each of these women much meat and they hurried back to their hut. In this way the many wives of little Hulušḗnuwa presented themselves to the two Yoā́lox, one after the other. The brothers carefully looked at each woman, but they did not like any of them. There were constantly more women coming. Each one entered the hut of the Yoā́lox alone, but each of them soon was given a large portion of meat and was in this way dismissed.

Finally Mā́kuxīpa arrived as the last and the most beautiful wife of little Hulušḗnuwa. When she entered the hut of the two Yoā́lox she pleased them beyond measure and they could not take their eyes off her. They whispered to their sister: "Do not give this woman any meat! We want to keep her here in our hut and not let her go back to her husband. We like this beautiful woman very much indeed!" Yoā́lox-tā́rnuxīpa said to Mā́kuxīpa: "Just sit down here beside my brothers, they both like you very much!" So Mā́kuxīpa sat down without embarrassment, as Yoā́lox-tā́rnuxīpa had told her to, on the pallet of the two Yoā́lox. The latter soon began to fondle the beautiful woman. Later they persuaded Mā́kuxīpa to stay with them in the hut. The two Yoā́lox both frankly confessed to her how much they were in love with her. She liked that very much and said: "Very well, I shall stay with you!" Then the two Yoā́lox were extremely pleased that this beautiful woman wanted to stay with them. They immediately began satisfying their lust. They thanked their sister especially, because she had helped keep this beautiful woman here.

In his hut little Hulušḗnuwa waited for his Mā́kuxīpa, but she did not return home. After a long time he finally learned that the two Yoā́lox were keeping his wife with them in order to amuse themselves with her. This made him sad beyond measure and he said sorrowfully: "Woe is me! They have persuaded the most beautiful of my wives and stolen her from me. They sent home all the rest who are less beautiful, after giving them much meat. How I miss my beautiful Mā́kuxīpa!" Little Hulušḗnuwa constantly lamented in this fashion.

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●841 The two Yoálox continued to amuse themselves with Mákuxípa. She, too, liked it very much in the hut of the two brothers. They took turns sleeping with her and were very glad that they no longer had to do without that (92).

92. This means frequent and free sexual intercourse for which they hitherto had had no opportunity. Thus their relationship to the woman is not to be interpreted as polyandry.

/1171/ One day, early in the morning, the elder Yoálox went to the forest to hunt animals and gather wood. His brother stayed behind, stretched out on his pallet, with beautiful Mákuxípa lying at his side. Because the elder Yoálox was absent, they gave themselves up to their boundless lust. They spent all day on their bed and it did not occur to them to get up. The day passed all too quickly for them, and it was after dark when the elder Yoálox returned. He approached the hut cautiously and unobserved. Then he realized that those two were still caressing each other and rolling around on their bed. This aroused his curiosity. Then he listened closely; he wanted to hear what they were saying to each other. He heard Mákuxípa whisper to the younger Yoálox: "Membrum tuum mihi summopere placet. Tantum est quantum repleat vaginam meam. Rubrum est sicut máku (93). Frater tuus membrum minutum habet, quod

93. The reference /máku/ is to the scarlet blossom of Embothrium coccineum (Fig. 78 on p. 495).

me non ita irritat. Ecce, multo magis membrum magnum tuum mihi placet quam fratris tui. Tecum tempus diuturnum concumbere malo." /"Your member is very pleasing to me. How much it fills my vagina. It is as red as máku. Your brother has a small member which thus does not arouse me. Indeed, your large member pleases me much more than that of your brother. I would rather have intercourse for a long time with you."/ These words

/1171 cont./

773 delighted the younger Yoálox. His older brother who was standing
•841 outside the hut listened attentively and understood perfectly what those two were whispering to each other.

After a while he finally entered the hut. He threw down the heavy logs he had brought and immediately sat down beside the fire, for the heavy rain had made him soaking wet. Now the younger Yoálox inconspicuously moved away a bit from Mákuxípa, but both of them were still lying on the pallet. The elder Yoálox had been warming himself by the fire for some time when he finally addressed the woman in a very ill-humored tone: "How can you lie here with my brother from early morning until now!" She answered carelessly: "Well, I liked being with him!" This explanation made him still more ill-humored, and irritated, he said harshly: "I know very well why you liked being with him so much that you lay together the whole day. What was it you just whispered to him?" Embarrassed, Mákuxípa replied: "What could I have whispered to him? We talked about unimportant things." Whereupon the elder Yoálox replied: "In any case you enjoyed yourself immensely with my brother. And I distinctly heard you say to him: 'Membrum tuum mihi summopere placet. Tantum est quantum repleat vaginam meam. Rubrum est sicut máku. Frater tuus membrum minutum habet, quod me non ita irritat. Ecce, multo magis membrum magnum tuum mihi placet quam fratris tui. Tecum tempus diuturnum concumbere malo!' Aren't these the words you just whispered to him! Very well, I'll show you, tamen membrum meum magnum atque tumidum esse /my member may nevertheless be large and tumid/!" He approached the pallet on which she lay and his brother moved far away. He began /1172/ to caress and embrace Mákuxípa. Postea mulieri incubuit et immisit membrum suum in vaginam ejus. Membrum suum ita intumuit, ut laceraret mulieris vaginam. Statim copia sanguinis sat magna effluxit. Yoálox eam interrogavit: "Desiderasne utrum membrum meum adhuc succrescat, necne? Satisfacta es?" /"After that, he lay on the woman and inserted his member in her vagina. His member swelled so that it lacerated the woman's vagina. Immediately a great amount of blood flowed out. Yoálox asked her: "Do you still wish that my member would grow? Is it satisfactory?"/ Mákuxípa did not say a word.

/1172 cont./

773 841 So the elder Yoálox got up from the bed and said to her: "Now you are tú·i! Therefore you may now take my younger brother as your husband! Before that I want to give you a few instructions so that not too much blood will flow and you do not become too weak!" Then he gave her all kinds of advice which from then on applied to her and to all women. He emphasized: "You must remain quiet and silent and avoid all chatter. If possible stay in your hut the whole time. Stay away from men, and if you should meet them, give them a wide berth. Refrain from all food and eat only what I permit. Be content with a very small amount of water. Work particularly diligently during this time [your first menstruation], help the other women, fetch a lot of drinking water and firewood for everyone. Faithfully observe each of these admonitions!" The elder Yoálox imposed many other things on Mákuxĭpa. She adhered to them all strictly. That is why her condition improved; she soon felt relieved, and the flow of blood finally stopped. After a few days she also did not have to renew the facial painting that Yoálox had made for her (94). Meanwhile Yoálox-tárnuxĭpa sat beside Mákuxĭpa,

94. These words refer to the special facial painting required during the menarche, which is shown in Fig. 79.

cared for her and instructed her diligently, and was constantly helpful. She gave her other bits of advice which Mákuxĭpa faithfully followed. Finally Yoálox-tárnuxĭpa proposed to her brothers: "Let's give a big feast, for this woman is now tú·i!" Her brothers agreed; they provided large quantities of meat and consumed them happily. This was the first tú·ikĭpa tátu (95).

95. The details of this festive occasion were given on p. 573.

841 This is how the first menstruation, which the elder Yoálox brought about for Mákuxĭpa, took place. Since then it happens to every woman and is repeated at the end of a moon (96). All

96. This expression is merely a designation

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●841

of time; it by no means establishes any kind of causal relationship between menstruation and the moon.

the rules that the Yoálox brothers and their sister gave Mákuxīpa on this occasion are still valid today and are strictly binding for girls at the menarche. Since that time the vagina mulieris has had its present form, blood still flows during every menstrual period, and every woman finds relief if she observes the well-known regulations faithfully. Thus when a girl's first menstruation appears, she must tell her mother or /1173/ a close relative. Immediately several women take this girl under their special care. They prescribe what foods she may eat and permit her an amount scarcely worth mentioning. They let her have only a little water which the girl must sip through a short hollow bird bone (97) so that she will not get too much. The older women

97. The candidates in the youth initiation drink in the same manner (p.709).

keep this girl extremely active at all kinds of tasks. She must fetch firewood for everybody, carry much drinking water to each hut, and assist other women in all kinds of ways. The girl should stay in her hut during this period and may not leave it without a special reason. Outside she must keep her eyes cast down, not linger anywhere, and generally keep her eyes in check. She may not start a conversation with anyone, much less become involved in quarrels. All the women of the camp watch over the girl carefully and see to it that she is not annoyed by any man. For a month after the first menstruation no man may have intercourse with this girl nor molest her. The túʔikīpa is obliged to observe these rules very conscientiously for about eight days. Then she gathers a great deal of meat and much fruit, whatever is in season. She prepares a large feast and invites everyone to it. This is the public túʔikīpa tītu which every girl is obliged to arrange on the occasion of her menarche. During these days she always appears with the facial painting appropriate to this occasion. The women impress upon the girl

/1173 cont./

•841 that all these rules and recommendations come from the two Yoálox and from Yoálox-tárnuxípa. One who conscientiously adheres to them will not have any serious trouble during the monthly bleeding and in childbirth.

773 So the story goes. I learned that there was another view about the personality of Mákuxípa. A few people said: She is actually the wife of Kétéla (Polyborus tharus). He lost his wife, according to the account given in a separate story. The many women who presented themselves to the two Yoálox actually did not belong to any particular man as his wives; they were unmarried and free. The reason they all came to see the two Yoálox was because the latter's sister advised them to; her influence upon all women was great and that is why they all complied with her wish. Her purpose was to help her brothers find a wife. Because they liked Mákuxípa, they kept this beautiful woman for themselves. Kétéla was not considered because his wife had already run away from him earlier and returned to her father's hut. Later when all those women turned themselves into birds, Mákuxípa did the same thing and since then she is called Hulušénuwakípa.

/1174/ To explain the name Mákuxípa it should be remembered that the Yamana designate the body color of a child or adult that is most pleasing and beautiful to them by refering to the scarlet máku blossom (Fig. 78).

λ. The First Birth

773 844 The Yamana tell: After that the younger Yoálox lived alone with Mákuxípa, for she had become his wife. He slept with her and she became pregnant. Finally she gave birth to a son (98). Yoálox was exceedingly pleased. He immediately

98. The particular aim of this story is to show that Yoalox first introduced conception and childbirth in the way that both events have taken place since then. Hence, before that children were not actually "born,"

844 herself and the infant in the sea, and the mother usually took sea baths for some days thereafter. For some time before and after a child's birth the mother and father observed certain food and other taboos. A form of couvade obtained, especially in the case of a first [846] child, the father remaining quiet in the tent and abstaining from most work for some days while relatives and friends supplied the family with necessities. The placenta was burned; the navel cord, dried and kept.

Marital relations were avoided for about 6 weeks or more after [862] delivery. Weaning ordinarily took place after 10 to 15 months, but in some cases not until a good deal later. The child was commonly [551] named after its birthplace.

Education.—Corporal punishment was rare. Severer correction 861 was ordinarily verbal, or else took the form of sending the child out of the hut for the day. A great deal of moralizing counsel was given the growing child by elders, counsel not always received with eager alertness by him, to judge from one of the instructions stressed in the initiation rite; viz, to listen attentively to what his elders told him even when the sermon was long drawn out. The sexes were kept separated after about the 7th year.

841 **Girls' puberty observances.**—At her first menses, the girl fasted, 881 eating little or nothing, for 3 days. Both cheeks from the eyes down were painted with red radiating streaks. Older women gave her much moral counsel. On the 8th or 10th day she bathed and washed in the sea. At the end, a feast was given to all the members of the group.

881 **The čiéxaus initiation rite.**—This rite (Koppers, 1924, pp. 45–95; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 805–961), for both boys and girls together, and actively participated in by all their elders who had previously been initiated, was the most important native ceremony, the focal point, in a sense, of their religious life, a dynamic stay of social order and solidarity. It was likewise an intensive training course, constituting the climactic event in the native educational system.

This initiation rite, the čiéxaus, under the auspices, it seems, of the local group, rather than of the dialectic division or whole *Yahgan* tribe, was held not at stated seasons or intervals, but as need or occasion arose, yearly or more or less often than yearly. It could last from several days to several months. The candidates were boys and girls who had reached puberty.

The chosen officers in charge of the rite were a leader, a mentor, and guards. A special large hut, of oval beehive or conical construc- [340] tion, was used, with simple decorations in the way of red, white, and black painting on the framework inside and similarly painted oblong boards hung up. Each participant wore a special diademlike feather